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PRESENTATION OF STATUES OF JOHN WINTHROP AND SAMUEL ADAMS.

SPEECH

OF

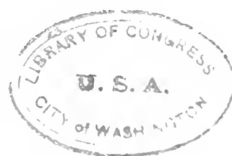
HON. GEORGE F. HOAR,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

December 19, 1876.



WASHINGTON.
1876.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR.

Mr. HOAR. I now call up the special order fixed for to-day.

The SPEAKER. The resolution of the Senate will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
December 19, 1876.

Resolved by the Senate, (the House of Representatives concurring,) 1. That the statues of John Winthrop and Samuel Adams are accepted in the name of the United States, and that the thanks of Congress are given to the State of Massachusetts for these memorials of two of her eminent citizens whose names are indissolubly associated with the foundation of the Republic.

2. That a copy of these resolutions, engrossed upon parchment and duly authenticated, be transmitted to the governor of the State of Massachusetts.

Attest:

GEO. C. GORHAM,
By W. J. McDONALD,
Chief Clerk.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. Speaker, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in obedience to the invitation of Congress, presents to the United States the statues of John Winthrop and Samuel Adams, to be placed in the old Hall of the House of Representatives, and to be kept reverently in that beautiful and stately Chamber so long as its columns shall endure.

Different kinds of public service, various manifestations of intellectual and moral greatness, have been held by different nations and ages to constitute the chief title to their regard. With all her wealth in other departments of glory, England chiefly values the men who have done good fighting in her great wars. Marlborough and Nelson and Wellington crown the stateliest columns in the squares and streets of her chief cities. When we would picture to ourselves the republics of Italy, four laureled heads of famous poets stand out upon the canvass. The statue of Erasmus, the great scholar of Holland, with a book in his hand, looks down upon the busy market-place of Rotterdam. The judgment of mankind has probably determined that through the great jurists of the days of the empire Rome has made her deepest impression on the world. The names of great soldiers, founders of nations, jurists, ministers of state, men of science, inventors, historians, poets, orators, philanthropists, reformers, teachers, are found in turn on the columns by which the gratitude of nations seeks to give immortality to their benefactors.

In deciding which of these classes should be represented or who of her children in each is worthiest of this honor, Massachusetts has not been driven to choose of her poverty. Is the choice to fall upon a soldier? Sturdy Miles Standish, earliest of the famous captains of America—"in small room large heart inclosed"—Sir William Pepperell, the conqueror of Louisburg, may vie with each other for the glory of standing by the ever youthful and majestic figure of Warren.

Would the reverence of the nation commemorate its founders? To the State made up of the blended colonies founded by Endicott and Winthrop and the men who, on board the Mayflower, signed the first written constitution that ever existed among men, more than one-third of the people of the United States to-day trace their lineage.

No American state, no civilized nation, has contributed more illustrious names to jurisprudence than Parsons and Mason and Story and Shaw.

The long roll of her statesmen begins with those who laid the foundation of the little colony deep and strong enough for an empire. It will end when the love of liberty dies out from the soul of man. Bradford and Carver; Endicott and Winthrop; Vane, the friend of Milton and counselor of Cromwell; Otis and Samuel Adams and Quincy and Hawley, the men who conducted on the side of the people that great debate by which the Revolution was accomplished before the first gun was fired; John Adams and his son, whose biographies almost make up the history of the country for eighty years; Pickering, who filled in turn every seat in the cabinet; Webster, the greatest teacher of constitutional law, save Marshall; Andrew, the great war governor; Sumner, the echoes of whose voice seem yet audible in the Senate Chamber, by no means make up the whole of the familiar catalogue.

Science will not disdain to look for fitting representatives to the State of Bowditch and John Pickering and Wyman and Pierce, and which contains the birth-place of Franklin and the home and grave of Agassiz.

Are we to hold with Franklin that the world owes more to great inventors than to all its warriors and statesmen? The inventor of the cotton-gin, who doubled the value of every acre of cotton-producing land in the South; the inventor of the telegraph, at whose funeral obsequies the sorrow of all nations throbbing simultaneously around the globe was manifested; the discoverer of the uses of ether in surgery, who has disarmed sickness of half its pain and death of half its terrors, may dispute with each other a palm for which there will be no other competitors.

Among historians the names of Bancroft and Sparks and Motley and Prescott and Palfrey and Parkman will endure till the deeds they celebrate are forgotten. "Worthy deeds," said John Milton, "are not often destitute of worthy relators, as by a certain fate great acts and great eloquence have commonly gone hand in hand."

> Native to famous wits
> And hospitable, in her sweet recess,

Massachusetts contributes to the list of poets who have delighted the world the names of Bryant and Emerson and Whittier and Longfellow and Lowell and Holmes.

Among the foremost of Americans in oratory, that foremost of arts, stand Quincy, the Cicero of the Revolution; Otis, that "flame of fire;" the persuasive Choate, the silver-tongued Everett, the majestic Webster.

Of the great lovers of their race, whose pure fame is gained by unselfish devotion of their lives to lessening suffering or reforming vice, Massachusetts has furnished conspicuous examples. Among these great benefactors who have now gone to their reward, it is hard to determine the palm of excellence. To the labors of Horace Mann is due the excellence of the common schools in America, without which liberty must perish, despite of constitution or statute.

If an archangel should come down from heaven among men, I can-

not conceive that he could give utterance to a loftier virtue or clothe his message in more fitting phrase than are found in the pure eloquence in which Channing arraigned slavery, that giant crime of all ages, before the bar of public opinion, and held up the selfish ambition of Napoleon to the condemnation of mankind. "Never before," says the eulogist of Channing, "in the name of humanity and freedom, was grand offender arraigned by such a voice. The sentence of degradation which Channing has passed, confirmed by coming generations, will darken the fame of the warrior more than any defeat of his arms, or compelled abdication of his power."

Dr. Howe, whose youthful service in the war for the independence of Greece, recalling the stories of knight-errantry, has endeared his name to two hemispheres, is yet better known by what he has done for those unfortunate classes of our fellow-men whom God has deprived of intellect or of sense. He gave eyes to the fingers of the blind, he taught the deaf and dumb articulate speech, waked the slumbering intellect in the darkened soul of the idiot, brought comfort, quiet, hope, courage, to the wretched cell of the insane.

To each of these the people of Massachusetts have in their own way, paid their tribute of honor and reverence. The statue of Horace Mann stands by the portal of the State House. The muse of Whittier and Holmes, the lips of our most distinguished living orators, the genius of his gifted wife, have united in a worthy memorial of Howe. The stately eloquence of Sumner, in his great oration at Cambridge, has built a monument to Channing more enduring than marble or granite, but Channing's published writings, eagerly read wherever the English language prevails, are better than any monument.

Yet I believe Channing and Howe and Mann, were they living to-day, would themselves yield precedence to the constant and courageous heroism of him who said, "I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard;" whose fame

> Over his living head, like heaven, is bent
> An early and eternal monument.

The act of Congress limits the selection to deceased persons not exceeding two in number for each State. Massachusetts has chosen those who while they seemed the fittest representatives of what is peculiar in her own character and history have impressed that character on important public events which have been benefits to the nation at large.

That peculiarity is what is called Puritanism. To that principle, which I will try to define presently, I think it would not be difficult to trace nearly everything which Massachusetts has been able to achieve in any department of excellence. But it has a direct national importance in three conspicuous eras. One of them is too recent to allow of dispassionate consideration. The others are the eras of the foundation of the State and of the American Revolution.

Of the first, John Winthrop, twelve times governor of Massachusetts, from 1630 to 1649, is the best type. Of the second she has selected Samuel Adams, sometimes called "the last of the Puritans," as the representative.

"The true marshaling," says Lord Bacon, "of the degrees of sovereign honor are these: In the first place are *conditores imperiorum*, founders of states and commonwealths, such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael." Whatever rank shall be assigned to our Commonwealth by history compared with the states of Romulus and Cyrus and the rest, the same "degree of sovereign honor" must be

awarded to the man who founded it as compared with those named by Lord Bacon.

When you look upon the statue of John Winthrop you see the foremost man of that little company of Englishmen who abandoned wealth, comfort, rank, to found a Christian church and a republican State in the wilderness of New England. He was born in Suffolk on the 12th day of January, 1587. He was a gentleman of good estate and descent, and of wide and powerful family connection. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, bred to the bar, and had a considerable practice as an attorney of the court of wards and liveries. A large portion of his private papers and letters to his family and friends have been preserved. I know of no other man of his time of whose mental and spiritual life from his childhood up we have such full particulars. He was a man industrious, modest, wise, brave, generous, affectionate, a lover of home, of kindred, and friends, tolerant, religious, moderate, chaste, temperate, self-sacrificing. He had studied the laws of England, and thought deeply and clearly upon the principles of civil liberty. He was a member and communicant of the Church of England. From his early youth his letters to his family and near friends and numerous private manuscripts reveal his most secret religious meditations and aspirations. They breathe a sincere, liberal, catholic spirit of love to God and man, uttered in forms in which religious men of all denominations could unite. If these simple and eloquent utterances were found in a meditation of Pascal or À Kempis, in a confession of Saint Augustine, in a sermon of Jeremy Taylor, in a journal of John Wesley, or an essay of Channing, I do not think that any disciple of either would deem them out of place. His style is simple and serious, rising sometimes to a grave and majestic eloquence. There are passages in his letters of exquisite beauty and "in the loftiest strain of religious faith and devotional fervor." There was probably no man in England with tastes less inclined to the part of an adventurer, and with less personal ambition.

Such, in the year 1629, at the age of forty-three, was this model English gentleman, dwelling on his own landed estate, surrounded by affluence, engaged in honorable public employments, happy in home, friends, honor. He had heard of a rocky and ice-bound region, the gloom of whose eternal forests was tenanted by savage beasts and men more savage. He had heard of a little company of Englishmen, who had landed on that coast ten years before, at mid-winter, half of whom had perished before spring, "at one time only six or seven having strength enough left to nurse the dying and bury the dead," and who for ten years had maintained a precarious and doubtful struggle with famine and pestilence and the rigorous climate. But what should drive him, of all mankind, to leave the delights of rich and luxurious England, to abandon the pleasant vales of Suffolk, for the rocks and sands of Massachusetts? "Founders of states, such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael." A founder of states *such as these were not* was John Winthrop. No legions flushed with foreign conquest demanded that he should lead them across the Rubicon to found an empire on the ruins of his country. No milk of the she-wolf mingling with the streams of his blood made him the fit founder of an asylum for a clan of banditti. No fanatical passion for conquest, no dream of sensual paradise, no restless nomadic habit, disturbed the even tenor of his life. But he was one of those men to whose happiness civil and religious liberty were absolutely essential. The third Parliament of Charles I had just been dissolved. England was entering upon a period of ten years of abso-

lute monarchy, her civil and military administration in the hands of Strafford, her spiritual affairs in the hands of Laud. Winthrop agreed in opinion with those who were disposed to submit to neither.

A charter had been earlier obtained. A few colonists had gone over to New England and established a government in subordination to the company in England. On the 26th day of August, 1629, Winthrop and eleven others signed an agreement at Cambridge "to embark for the said plantation, to the end to pass the seas (under God's protection) to inhabit and continue in New England: provided always, that the whole government, together with the patent for the said plantation, be first by an order of court legally transferred and established to remain with us and others which shall inhabit upon the said plantation." This condition was performed. In October thereafter the record of the company recites "the court having received extraordinary great commendations of Mr. John Winthrop, both for his integrity and sufficiency, as being one every way well fitted and accomplished for the place, the said Mr. Winthrop was with a general vote chosen to be governor for the ensuing year."

It is more than probable that the accession of Winthrop to their society was the condition of the whole emigration. It is more than probable that the coming over of Winthrop and his fleet of ships saved the whole Puritan settlement from being abandoned. It is certain that for the nineteen years for which he was chief director of the affairs of the colony he impressed upon it his own character and qualities. He took farewell of England "in a flood of tears." He begged his brethren of the English church for their prayers, "which will be a most prosperous gale in our sails." To narrate his remaining life would be only to tell again the well-known tale of the history of Massachusetts for its first nineteen years.

The qualities which the greatest rulers of free States have displayed in the most difficult times were all needed in the governor of the infant Commonwealth. No other American so nearly resembles Washington. "He was, indeed," says the old annalist, "a governor who had most exactly studied that book, which, pretending to teach politics, did only contain three leaves, and but one word on each of those leaves, which word was 'moderation.'" Another Puritan writer calls him "that famous pattern of piety and justice." He was reproved by the clergy of the colony for his "overmuch lenity," in the month Roger Williams was banished. He preserved unbroken his friendship with Williams, who wished him to be the governor of his own plantation in Rhode Island. He poured out his estate in charity, leaving but £100 at his death. He gave his last measure of meal to a poor woman, when the colony was starving, a ship laden with provisions from England arriving just in time for their safety.

When impeached for an act of necessary authority, he took his place modestly and meekly at the bar of the court of which he had been head, where he defended himself in a discourse defining the true nature of civil liberty which for grave and majestic eloquence has been pronounced by high authority "equal to anything of antiquity."

The questions which divided the Roundhead from the Cavalier, the Puritan from the high churchman, are not yet at rest. Until they are, men will differ in their estimate of the generation to which John Winthrop belonged and of the Commonwealth of which he was the chief founder. But the concurrent judgment of all lovers of America now accepts the estimate which has been eloquently expressed by his distinguished biographer and descendant, your accomplished predecessor in that chair: "A great example of private virtue and public

usefulness; of moderation in counsel and energy in action; of stern self-denial and unsparing self-devotion; of child-like trust in God and implicit faith in the gospel of Christ, united with courage enough for conducting a colony across the ocean and wisdom enough for building up a state in the wilderness."

When John Winthrop died, in 1649, the colony of which he had been the foremost planter was firmly established as a Christian state. Thirty flourishing towns, in which every freeman had an equal vote, were represented in the Legislature. The college, the schools, the churches, agriculture, and trade and fisheries were prospering. The little Commonwealth did its full share to keep up the glory of the English flag at Louisburg, at Quebec, at Martinique, and the Havanna, and many another well-fought field. But the people kept a wary lookout for any encroachment by King, Parliament, or governor on the natural and inalienable rights of Englishmen, as declared by their charter. In 1763 the great drama was fairly opened which ended with the separation from England and the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. The Legislature hesitated a good while whether Samuel Adams, or his illustrious kinsman, John Adams, should be chosen as the representative of the revolutionary age. I think the even-hanging balance was inclined at last by the thought of the ample compensations which life brought to the latter for his services and sacrifices in his country's cause.

I can conceive of nothing which the human heart can desire in satisfaction of a pure ambition which did not fall to the lot of John Adams. As was well said by Mr. Webster, "he was attended through life by a great and fortunate genius. He had written his name where all nations should behold it, and where all time should not efface it." He lived to see the independence of his country achieved. His was the rare good fortune to take part in a great revolution from its beginning to its successful issue. The proscribed rebel was received by the sovereign who had hated him as the representative of a great and free people. He was deemed by his countrymen worthy to be associated with Washington in the inauguration of the Government, and succeeded him in the great office of the Presidency. He was the foremost champion of the Declaration of Independence on the floor of Congress, and his famous prophecy will cause his name to be remembered by his countrymen as its anniversary returns until time shall be no more. He was the chief author of the constitution of his native State. He rejoiced in the congenial companionship of one of the most affectionate of wives and most intellectual of women. His life ended on the spot where it began, at the great age of ninety, in a strong, vigorous old age, made happy by private affection and public reverence. By a coincidence almost miraculous, his death took place when millions of his countrymen, happy and at peace, under the Presidency of his son, were celebrating the great day he had made famous. "If the chariot and horses of fire had been vouchsafed to him, he could scarcely have had a more splendid translation or departed in a brighter blaze of glory."

Samuel Adams, on the other hand, lived and died poor. His only son preceded him to the grave, leaving none to inherit his name. He held no considerable public office, except that of delegate to the Continental Congress, until he succeeded Hancock as governor in his seventy-second year, when in his own opinion the weight of years and infirmities was beginning to unfit him for further service.

But for more than thirty years, beginning when most of the great actors in the Revolution were unborn or were children, he was the

unquestioned leader of the contest for liberty in Massachusetts. I shall not repeat the familiar story. Samuel Adams was, I think, the greatest of our American public men in civil life; greatest, if we judge him by the soundness and sureness of his opinions on the great questions of his time and of all time; greatest, as shown by the strength of original argument by which he persuaded the people to its good; greatest in the imperial power of personal will by which he inspired and compelled and subdued the statesmen of his day who were his companions; greatest in the sublime self-denial which contented itself with accomplishing public results without seeking personal reward either of fame or office.

"If there was any Palinurus to the Revolution," said Thomas Jefferson, "Samuel Adams was that man." From the day when on taking his degree at Harvard in 1743 he maintained that it is lawful to resist the supreme magistrate if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved, down to the time when the Declaration severed the tie between England and the colonies, he conducted the great debate of liberty. In the achievement of great revolutions which mark and secure the progress of liberty, three kinds of leaders are alike indispensable: the philosopher, who establishes great principles; the statesman, who frames great measures, fills great executive offices, leads popular and legislative assemblies; the politician, without whose marshaling of political forces civil contests must be carried on by mobs, and not by parties. Adams was all three. With clear logic he derived his great argument from its foundations in the immutable laws of ethics and the inalienable rights of human nature. With consummate wisdom, he directed all the measures of the Massachusetts Assembly, never driven from his position or taking a false step. He was the most dextrous politician that ever planned an election or managed a caucus. He laid down the pen in the midst of a profound treatise which Locke or Hooker might have envied to mingle with the workmen at the rope-walk or the crowd at the street corner to plan the conduct of the coming town-meeting. I know no second instance in history where these three characters have been so wonderfully combined. Yet, what is more wonderful still, Adams was free from the faults which commonly beset each. A profound political philosopher, his feet always touched the ground. He was never led astray by his theory. A statesman, he was without personal ambition. A politician, he was without a wile. There is no more hurtful error than the notion of our *doctrinaires* that the function performed in free states by men who are termed politicians is not dignified, honorable, serviceable, and honest. When wars are brought to successful issue without planning the campaigns; when battles are won without generals, disposition of forces, or discipline, good results will come to pass under popular governments without politicians. But whether concerting his plans in the caucus or addressing the people in Faneuil Hall, which was called his "throne," the absolute truth and simple honesty of Samuel Adams were unstained. He would not have deceived that people if thereby he could have redeemed a world from bondage.

With unerring wisdom, earlier than any other person in his own State, he saw the principles on which the American cause was based, and the means by which public opinion should be convinced, combined, and made effective in their support. He saw the power of the newspaper when it was almost unused as a political force. He was the author of the most important state papers, the instructions of the town of Boston to its representatives, of the assembly to its agents in Eng-

land, its answers to the royal governors, wherein the natural rights of men, the chartered privileges of the people, and the limits of executive and legislative power were established on foundations from which they have never been removed. It was said of him that he had the eyes of Argus and as many hands as Briareus, and in each hand a pen. His style was simple, severe, chaste, restrained, as became the great themes he had to discuss. But it conveyed his weighty meaning alike to the understanding of the people and the apprehension of his antagonists. "Every dip of his pen," said Bernard, "stung like a horned snake."

He always put other men forward when glory was to be gained or desirable public office to be filled—never when responsibility or peril was to be encountered. Behind the conspicuous presence of Hancock, the brilliant rhetoric of Otis, the British governors felt and dreaded the iron hand of Adams. With his own lips he gave the signal for the movement of the tea party. With his own hand he carried to the council the impeachment of Oliver. On the day of the Boston massacre Adams intrusted no other messenger with the demand for the removal of the regiments. Yonder statue represents the great popular leader and chieftain, king of men, the genius of American liberty speaking through his lips, as he stood in the presence of the royalty of England represented by Governor Hutchinson: "If you have the power to remove one regiment you have power to remove both. It is at your peril if you refuse; night is approaching; an immediate answer is expected. Both regiments or none." "It was then," said Adams afterward, "if fancy deceived me not, that I observed his knees to tremble. I thought I saw his face grow pale, and I enjoyed the sight."

He was among the earliest of American advocates, I think in nearly every case the earliest, of doctrines which, when he first uttered them, were deemed paradoxes or utopian dreams, but to-day are the accepted maxims of constitutional liberty. Among these he maintained that the right to life, liberty, and property are essential and inalienable rights of human nature;

That Magna Charta is irrepealable by Parliament, (citing in support of this view the curse pronounced by the church in presence of King Henry III and the estates of the realm upon all who should make statutes or observe them contrary to it;)

That representation of America in Parliament was impossible;

That King or Parliament, together or separately, had no right to affect the liberties of the colonies;

That, therefore, Parliament had no power to legislate for the colonies in any case;

That the union of the several powers of government in one person is dangerous to liberty;

That the Crown had no right to grant salaries to colonial judges or governors;

That kings and governors may be guilty of treason and rebellion, and have in general been more guilty of them than their subjects;

That the welfare and safety of the people are paramount to all other law;

That governments are founded on equal rights;

That the people have natural right to change a bad constitution whenever it is in their power;

That American manufactures should be a constant theme

He was never weary,

Says his biographer—

of promoting a widely diffused common-school system, whereby the poorest might educate his children to a point where talent might win its way on equal terms with

their more wealthy neighbors. This was democratic doctrine in its purest form and, as Mr. Adams conceived it, was the principle on which the Revolution had been accomplished.

The instinct of Hutchinson did not err when it pronounced him the first man in America who advocated independence.

The first public denial of the right of Parliament to tax America, the first public opposition to the stamp-act, the first suggestion of a general union of the colonies, are in the instruction of the town of Boston to its representatives, adopted in 1764 and drafted by Samuel Adams. This preceded by twelve months Patrick Henry's resolution in the Virginia House of Burgesses of May, 1765. In that life of incessant activity, constantly engaged in debate in the assembly, in controversy in the press, a writer of such originality that the doctrines must have seemed to the men of his day paradoxes, having to meet a powerful and unscrupulous government by combining popular forces, no instance can be found of his advancing a doctrine which is not to-day accepted, or of his proposing a measure from which he was compelled to recede.

It has been charged that the "glittering generalities" of the Declaration of Independence were the result of the French tastes of Jefferson, and were acquiesced in—not believed in—by his associates in the Continental Congress to conciliate his supposed influence in Virginia. The criticism has been made by Mazzini, I think repeated by Bismarck, that it asserts that the security of rights, not the performance of duties, is the object of the state. The statement and the criticism are unlike unfounded. Every sentiment of the Declaration can be found anticipated in the writings of Samuel Adams. It contains the matured opinions of the most religious race of men that ever lived at the most religious period of their history. The men who believed that "the chief end of man is to glorify God and enjoy him forever" did not lightly put on record their creed as to the object of the state and the purpose for which governments are instituted among men. They knew that to add a political sanction to religious or moral duty, or to enlist the forces of the state for its performance is impossible without trenching upon that liberty of conscience, which they valued even more than their political rights.

Burke, in his famous delineation of the character of the colonists in his great speech on conciliation with America mentions as among the marvels of history the formation of voluntary government by the people when the ancient government of Massachusetts was abrogated by Great Britain. That voluntary government, obeyed, as Lord Dunmore said of that in Virginia, "infinitely better than the ancient ever was in its most fortunate periods," was largely the work of Samuel Adams.

His respect for law and horror of lawless violence were remarkable in the leader of a revolution. When the mob attacked the house of Hutchinson he declared he would rather have lost his right hand. It was through his influence that Quincy and John Adams defended Captain Preston, and the soldiers who had fired on the people and secured their acquittal. He restrained the impatience of the people, waiting patiently for eight years till the time should come when his opponents should be put clearly in the wrong by first resorting to force.

He had a marvelous personal magnetism which few men could resist, by which he attracted many brilliant and able men to the cause of his country. John Adams declares in his diary that "to my certain knowledge from 1758 to 1775, that is, for seventeen years, he made

it his constant rule to watch the rise of every brilliant genius, to seek his acquaintance, to court his friendship, to cultivate his natural feelings in favor of his native country, to warn him against the hostile designs of Great Britain." He gives us a few names out of many thus brought to the cause of America, Hancock, Warren, and Quincy. To these names he might have added his own, as abundant passages in his diary bear witness.

Samuel Adams seems to have been a man without a selfish personal desire. You cannot trace in him the slightest evidence of the passions that so commonly beset the path of men in public life. The love of fame, the love of money, the love of pleasure, the love of ease, the love of power, the love of office, were alike without influence on that heart in which the love of liberty burned with a perpetual flame. The authorship of many of his ablest papers remained unknown till long after he died. The agents of the King more than once tried to tempt him with money or office. Most of his companions in the public service found means to gain competent fortunes by their own industry. Adams once declared that a guinea never glistened in his eyes. But for a small inheritance received late in life from his son, he must have been supported in his old age by charity and buried at the public charge. His only relaxation from his unrepaid public cares was in conversation, especially with little children, of whose society he was passionately fond, and sometimes in listening to or joining in sacred music, in which he especially delighted.

The judgment of historians, the voice of the people, the praises of friends, the anger of enemies, bear concurrent witness to the great qualities of Samuel Adams.

Bancroft calls him "the chief of the Revolution." He says "his vigorous, manly will resembled in its tenacity well-tempered steel which may ply a little but will not break."

Sir James Grahame says "Samuel Adams was one of the most perfect models of disinterested patriotism, and of republican genius and character, that any age or country has produced."

Jefferson called him "the Palinurus of the Revolution." He declared "he was truly a great man, wise in counsel, fertile in his resources, immovable in his purposes, and had, I think, a greater share than any other member in advising and directing our measures in the northern war. I always considered him more than any other man the fountain of our important measures."

Patrick Henry writes from Williamsburgh, when Virginia was about to frame her constitution, "Would to God you and your Samuel Adams were here."

James Warren said he was "the man who had the greatest hand in the greatest revolution in the world."

John Adams exhausts the language of eulogy in his praise: "He has the most thorough understanding of liberty and her resources in the temper and character of the people. He was born and tempered a wedge of steel."

Stephen Sayre calls him "the Father of America."

Josiah Quincy says "many in England esteem him the first politician in the world."

A distinguished clergyman of his time calls him "one of Plutarch's men."

Hutchinson, the tory governor, calls him "the all in all," "the great incendiary leader of Boston." When the ministry wrote to Hutchinson "Why has not Mr. Adams been taken off from his opposition by an office?" he replied, "Such is the obstinacy and inflexible disposi-

tion of the man that he never would be conciliated by any office or gift whatever." When Hutchinson went back to England he was received to an audience by King George in his closet, where king and governor vied with each other in denunciation of Sam. Adams.

Galloway, the Philadelphia tory, declared in his examination before the House of Commons that "the lower ranks in Philadelphia were governed in a great degree by Mr. Adams."

Gage, in June, 1775, excepts from the general offer of pardon "Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offenses are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment."

And so, Mr. Speaker, it has come to pass that in the centennial year, Massachusetts brings the first and the last of her great Puritans to represent her in the nation's gallery of heroes and patriots. Two hundred and forty-six years have gone by since John Winthrop landed at Salem. It is a hundred years since Samuel Adams set his name at Philadelphia to the charter of that independence which it had been the great purpose of his life to accomplish. Their characters, public and private, have been the subject of an intense historic scrutiny, both hostile and friendly. But the State, not, we hope, having failed to learn whatever new lessons these centuries have brought, still adopts them as the best she has to offer.

I do not use the word Puritan in a restricted sense. I do not mean the bigots or zealots who were the caricature of their generation. I do not discuss the place in history of the men of the English commonwealth. Whether the hypocritical buffoon of Hudibras or the religious enthusiast of Macaulay be the fit type of that generation of Englishmen before whom Europe trembled, we do not need to inquire. I use the word in a large sense, as comprehending the men who led the emigration, made up the bulk of the numbers, established the institutions of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth, and administered their affairs as self-governing republics in all but name for more than a century and a half.

Through the vast spaces of human history there have resounded but a few heroic strains. Unless the judgment of those writers who have best conceived and pictured heroism—Milton, Burke, Carlyle, Froude—be at fault, among these there has been none loftier than the Puritanism of New England. The impress which a man makes upon mankind depends upon what he believes, what he loves, what are his qualities of intellect and of temper. You must consider all these to form a just estimate of the great generations with which we are dealing. The Puritan loved liberty, religious and civil; he loved home and family and friends and country with a love never surpassed, and he loved God. He did not love pleasure or luxury or mirth. He dwelt with the delight of absolute certainty on the anticipation of a life beyond the grave. His intellect was fit for exact ethical discussion, clear in seeing general truths, active, unresting, fond of inquiry and debate, but penetrated and restrained by a shrewd common sense. He saw with absolute clearness the true boundary which separates liberty and authority in the state. He had a genius for making constitutions and statutes. He had a tenacity of purpose, a lofty and inflexible courage, an unbending will, which never quailed or flinched before human antagonist, or before exile, torture, or death. The Puritan was a thorough gentleman, of dignified, noble, stately bearing, as becomes men who bear weighty responsibilities, deal with the greatest interests, and meditate on the loftiest themes. Read John Winthrop's definition of civil liberty or his reasons for settling in New England,

and judge of the temper of those men, who, of free choice, made him twelve times their governor.

The Puritan believed that the law of God is the rule of life for states as for men. He believed in the independence of the individual conscience and in self-government according to the precedents of English liberty, because he believed that both were according to the will of God. "It is the glory of the British constitution," said Samuel Adams, "that it hath its foundation in the law of God." "The magistrate is the servant," said John Adams, "not of his own desires, not even of the people, but of his God." He derived the knowledge of that will from a literal interpretation of Scripture, which he thought furnished precepts or examples for every occasion. Yet it is wonderful how soon the common sense of the Puritan wrought out the principles of sound administration, and freed him from the errors into which other men fell. He interpreted literally the divine command, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Yet the witchcraft delusion, disgrace of all Christian nations, never reached Plymouth or Connecticut, and touched Massachusetts but lightly. In England, from 1600 to 1680, 40,000 persons were put to death as witches, and in Scotland nearly as many. On the continent of Europe the victims were numbered by hundreds of thousands. In Massachusetts the number never reached a score. The little Swiss city of Geneva put to death five hundred persons for this crime in a single year. A child of nine years old was executed for witchcraft in Huntingdon, England, in 1719. The laws against witchcraft remained in force in England till 1736, and in Scotland till 1738, fifty years after the time when, first of all mankind, Massachusetts repented of the delusion, the opinion of her whole people being uttered in the ever memorable confession of Sewall, the Puritan chief justice. They had sacrificed almost every thing else that man values to enjoy the worship of God after their own fashion. Yet they were among the first of mankind to establish complete religious toleration. I have heard the Puritans of New England taunted for religious bigotry by the representatives of States who, as late as 1741, put men to death for the crime of being Catholics.

The Puritan believed in a future life, where just men were to enjoy immortality with those whom they had loved here; and this belief was his comfort and support in all the sorrow and suffering which he encountered. But he believed also in the coming of God's kingdom here. He had a firm faith that the state he had builded was to continue and grow, a community of men living together in the practice of virtue, in the worship of God, in the pursuit of truth. It has been said of each of two great Puritan leaders, "Hope shone like a fiery pillar in him when it had gone out in all others. His mind is firmly fixed on the future; his face is radiant with the sunrise he intently watches."

Lastly, the Puritan believed in the law of righteous retribution in the affairs of nations. No departure from God's law of absolute justice, of absolute honesty, of absolute righteousness, could escape, so it seemed to him, its certain and terrible punishment. The oppressor who deprived the poorest or weakest of mankind of the equal right with which God had endowed him, the promise-breaker, who juggled with public obligation, the man who gained power by violence or fraud, brought down, as he believed, the vengeance of God upon himself and upon his children, and upon the nation which permitted him, to the third and fourth generation.

Mr. Speaker, the State that the Puritan planted has opened her gates to men of other lineage and of other creed. It may be that in the

coming centuries his descendants are to yield to another race the dominion of his beloved New England and that only in gentler climes and on the shores of a more pacific sea men will delight to remember that their fathers were of the company of Winthrop or sat in council with Adams. But the title of the Puritan to remembrance will not depend upon locality. In that mightier national life, drawn from so many sources—of many, one ; of many States, one nation ; of many races, one people ; of many creeds, one faith—the elements he has contributed are elements of perpetual power : his courage ; his constancy ; his belief in God ; his reverence for law ; his love of liberty ; his serene and lofty hope. [Applause.]

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